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Fig. 86. Basket Traps.

224 fenced-in areas is not unknown to the Fang and is supposed to have been practiced more frequently in former times when the region was more abundant in these pachyderms.

The distribution of meat from the animals caught on the drives is regulated. If a huntsman, for instance, kills a wild animal in such a way that it dies on the spot, /138/ /Fig. 86 appears here in the original text/ he must give the meat of one forefoot to the first of his companions who appears on the scene. On the other hand, if the animal runs on, the first comer can lay claim to the entire forefoot, the second to the shoulder pieces (abá') (1) of one

1. From the stem bá, "to divide"; these pieces are usually divided first because the animal falls down to the ground (which, after all, is also common property) with its shoulders first.

side, the third to the outside of the shank (ebú'n). Finally, the one who carries off the animal can claim the neck bones with some flesh (ebú'ó) (2).

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2. For he also carries the animal around his neck (placed over his shoulders); abá'(g)e, bóó = to carry.

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682 In view of the excitable and stormy character of the Pangwe, it is no wonder that many of them on such a hunting expedition, where the coveted, delectable tit (tit, "flesh" and "game") jumps

224 out from the bushes everywhere, completely lose their heads and
 672 start shooting blindly at anything that moves. On such occasions
 68 it very frequently happens that a wild Nimrod shoots a hunting
 companion or a beater. Hunting accidents are the order of the day
 and make the unfortunate huntsman responsible to the family of the
 person killed. In order to mitigate the situation, one excuses him-
 self by hiding behind the belief that some "evil" people or sorcerers
 can transform themselves into antelopes and, weary of living, let
 themselves be shot in this way in order, even at the end, to place
 their enemy in an embarrassing position. The hunter declares that
 this was actually the case at the moment of shooting, that he saw
 an antelope, fired at it, and that then a person was lying there;
 he therefore is not guilty. This excuse is of little help to him in
 the matter since the victim's way of acting by no means releases
 the unlucky person from the obligation of paying blood money in the
 amount required for the person he has killed or wounded. Nonethe-
 less, it does reduce his guilt.

224 Individual animals are also driven into the nets when the dog
 finds their fresh trail. The animal's location is determined by closing
 in on it in a circle (a kin e tit), and with the help of the remaining
 villagers it is chased into the net. /139/

On a solitary hunting expedition (elö há), the Pangwe -- as was
 mentioned in the beginning -- more or less break down. There is
 no special word for "hunter"; nyö a ngä III "he who fires a flint-
 lock," has to substitute for it. On the other hand, niö me III is one
 who "catches" animals and fish. Only a negligible number of the
 enormous quantity of animals to be hunted in this forested land is
 killed without the help of traps, nets, and beaters. Of larger animals
 killed without such help -- aside from elephants -- the most com-
 mon are boars and leopards (1) because of their value. In former

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1. Formerly a leopard was worth as
 much as a woman.

times buffaloes, found only along the large rivers (the Campo, etc.),
 were also hunted, and the hide was used for the well-known shields.
 Since the latter have become worthless with the introduction of the

754 or to make him ill, he prepares a medicine which serves to strengthen his ewu and, at the same time to stimulate it anew and in a particular way for the occasion to point out the direction of the victim and to provide the power for the sorcery. In this way also, the cult figures were transformed by a medicine into active magical beings. From the sequence of medicine, ewu, object of the sorcery, the ewu was later omitted, so only the direct effect of the medicine on the object remains. Thus, instead of killing through sorcery, we have direct poisoning. Among the Fangwe these things are as yet still confused. Only among the Jaunde does there appear to be the beginning of a separation between the two, inasmuch as they do not unquestioningly surrender to their fate, but instead attempt to investigate the poisoning and to find and punish the murderer. In so doing, however, barely escaping this Charybdis, they are caught on the Scylla of legal murder; in view of the difficulty of finding the culprit, they proceed in a very summary manner. If, for example, a chief dies, presumably

● [642] poisoned by one of his wives, all of them or at least very many of them will be punished by death.

754 The most common sorcerous medicine used for poisoning is
218 naŋ, with which we are already acquainted as a medicine for giving power to the cult figures. It is prepared in three different ways, as white, red and black naŋ. As a rule, all three contain toad poison. In addition, the white one usually contains:

1. fine, sharp-edged splinters of grated cowry shells, mica (ebŋb e dŋŋb, "scales of heaven"), or glass;
2. skull bones of a man who has been dead for a month and who must have died on the same day that he was taken ill;
- [825] 3. toad, Bufo superciliaris Blgr. (mvŋh) dried and grated;
4. lizard, Lygosoma fernandi Burt. (ebŋmakŋkŋŋ), prepared in the same way (see "Religion" /Ed., not translated/; /146/
5. the poisonous roots of the Dioscorea macroura Harms (dzŋk IV), dried over a fire and grated;
6. poisonous hairs of the Leguminosa Mucuna pruriens D.C. (akŋ'n' eŋŋeŋŋ, that is, leaves from the Sso, e.g., leaves of death); at times also
7. scraped and charred rind of the Leguminosa Detarium macrocarpum Harms (enŋk), with whose symbolic significance

579 had been satis-
628 the loss was
a village

{411} The matter
{531} the Behai
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chief, while
young man.
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628 From this
642 the Pangwe
ple of an eye
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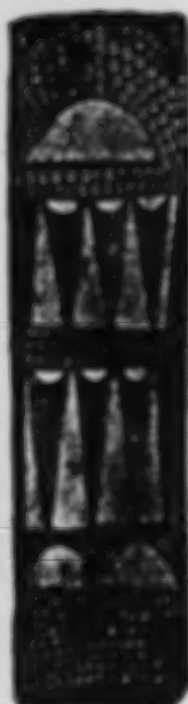


Fig. 84. Wooden Shield.

fied, because on either side
exactly the same: each had
burned and a man killed.
would have gone on, because
people were still dissatis-
they regarded their loss as
casualty had been a great
the other had been only a
However, by this time the
the Whites had penetrated
thus an end was put to the

example it can be seen that
act according to the princi-
for an eye, a tooth for a
that blood revenge can cease
the losses on both sides are
"war" between Schumu and
people, eight Schumu peo-
killed, and peace could not
until eight Eueng men had

likewise been killed. Furthermore, it can be seen that village
feuds fraught with consequences often arise from quite trivial
causes.

727 Prisoners are usually killed and then often eaten, as has been
{266} mentioned earlier. Only children are raised as "slaves" in the
{517} village. Captured women are usually taken by the victors as
wives, but sometimes they are also killed in order to even out
the number of killed on both sides and thus to make peace possible.
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573 example, by the premature death of the fiancée. Almost all customary courts now refuse /to uphold/ repayment when a woman has died without issue, as was the old custom.

The other forms of marriage were shom, marriage by abduction, which was regularized by later payment of the "bride price" (meso upon arrival of the girl); putting in pawn for debt, which was made permanent /53/ by nonrepayment; élan, substitution for a fiancée deceased before marriage or for a wife who died without issue (in such cases a younger sister of the dead woman was often provided); tall shim, corpse price, that is, the giving in payment of a young woman as blood money after a homicide; exchange of women between clans, usually on the occasion of an alliance /i.e. through marriage/; élat (1).

1. élat = alliance, agreement; hilelat = kindred, the whole body of relatives and affinal kin.

57 Exchange or loan of women, myia, was perhaps a form of hospitable prostitution. It apparently did not apply to the benya binga, the "true wives," in any case never to the boua minga, the first wife, who would have considered it a reason for divorce without repayment of bride price. In the same way, shuan, sale, was not the equivalent of marriage and must have applied mainly to foreigners, though perhaps sometimes to Fahuin girls pawned and not redeemed.

57 The inheritance of widows did not automatically have the same value as marriage. It was usually permitted only between succeeding generations—from father to son, from elder to younger brother; inheriting by an older from a younger brother appears in recent law. Furthermore, the heir possessed the right of renunciation, except with respect to his mother, whom he had to support but whom he would naturally not make his wife. He could send other widows back to their families, keeping their children, who belonged to his clan. To require repayment of the bride price for a widow's "liberation" seems to be a recent deviation; in the past this custom must have applied only to barren women or to those whose children had not lived, but only when they returned to live with their families without remarrying. The moment a widow remarried outside the family of her deceased husband, the "bride price" went to the latter's heirs, and

719 examples. After the victim has been offered to the totem,
712 the latter will itself be immolated, with all the prescribed ritual; then comes the eating or partaking of the totem itself. In this way the ancient covenant is renewed, though on a new basis. It means binding the present to the past and making certain in clear and recognizable fashion, the continuance of the totemic agreement concluded by the first ancestor of the race.

The sacrifice of the totem therefore gives us the basic idea which must have guided primitive sacrifice. First of all, it was an "offering," not a "tax" granted to a recognized master, as Le Roy puts it, for totemic sacrifice does not admit of this notion at all, but rather as the expiation of ritual but necessary murder. This notion is confirmed [505] by the fact that the sacrifice offered "beforehand" to the sacrificed totem is the same as that which ought to be offered as ritual compensation for accidental murder. The totem having been appeased in advance, the "offering" proper is then made. After a series of consecutive consecrations, the "sacrificing person," the chief or practitioner representing the organized group over which he presides, calls "into himself" the genius of the race, i. e. the power of the ancestors. But this power rests in, and inhabits, an invisible world, the world of spirits; the actual totem must be carried into that world and put to death in order that it may penetrate it. So, before the ceremony, the "sacrificing person," as representative of that world of spirits, will take care to paint himself with liturgical colors; [with] red, the color of sacrifice, and white, the color of funerals but especially of spirits, deified souls of the dead, ghosts, of all disembodied forces.

Thus totem and victim will be adorned in the same colors, and only then will the "immolation" take place.

After the immolation comes the exchange of blood.

The totem's blood has been carefully collected; those taking part make slight incisions in their arms, squeeze out a little blood, put some on a leaf, take a few drops of the totem's blood and mix it with their own on the leaf. Finally, they apply the leaf to the cuts on their arms and rub energetically so as to make the mixture of bloods penetrate to the depths of the

685 If the offense is admitted, punishment follows immediately. With theft, for instance, the person who has committed larceny must make a restitution of double the value. In some tribes, the thief is condemned to lose an ear, a finger, a hand, sometimes a foot. Often he may be sold into slavery. Among the Fan he has merely to return twice the amount stolen.

684 In case of adultery, the culprit pays the value of the woman and is also often kept prisoner for a long time in the plaintiff's village; his head is shaved and he is exposed to the sun, covered with spices. If payment is not made, and even if it is, the woman's father or husband has the right -- and makes use of it -- to cut the joints of the culprit's fingers so that he is made almost powerless. Women are cruelly beaten and spices are rubbed into her wounds. She is also chastised with the

[412] nkhi éki, (2) a kind of long iron shears used to pinch deeply and

2. This is the name of certain villages where the blacksmiths are found who are skillful in making these instruments of torture.

cruelly burn the genital organs. At the second offense her nose and ears are cut off; a third brings death.

683 In case of murder, the murderer, when captured, is killed and eaten. Furthermore, his family must pay compensation with a woman or the equivalent value, that is, two lives for one.

695 For all other charges and for those just mentioned, when the acknowledged or presumed culprit denies his guilt, judicial trial is required. [560]

Whatever the ordeal, they may all be considered from two points of view, or even are of two degrees. The first ordeal is intended to "indicate" the likely culprit; the second, to decide whether or not he is really guilty. Punishment is immediate and strikes simultaneously at body and soul.

The first step is therefore to discover the culprit. With theft, murder, or sorcery, the ordeals vary according to the case.

695 The following are some of the principal kinds:

697 A man is accused of murder. He will first have to be
672 seized; if that is impossible, it does not much matter. Since
619 members of the tribe stick together, another man will be
672 seized, no matter whom. If this cannot be done, the Fan may
672 even take a man belonging to another tribe, who will be kept
prisoner until his family and tribe, taking up the cudgels in
their turn, capture either the culprit or a member of the cul-
prit's tribe. One can see to what degree such solidarity may
lead to retaliation.

695 Once a man has been caught, guilty or not, he undergoes
one of the following tests:

672 The dziambébiñ is the eye ordeal. A person is brought be-
fore the chief, gagged and with his head pulled back. The
practitioner takes a little pot made from the hard shell of a
[37] small gourd called ngon, which is filled with a certain liquid
consisting of vegetable poisons with an atropine base. The
presumed culprit has the right -- and often takes advantage of
it -- to require his own totem to be dipped in the liquid. The
contents of the pot are then poured into his eye. If the eye
stays in its socket, the man is innocent; if the eye is destroyed
or raised out of the socket, he is guilty. (1) In the latter case

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1. The same test occurs among the
Bangala and Barundi.

he is immediately killed by a knife stroke. He may nevertheless
ask to drink the test poison, provided that he is buying back his
life for the first time. This is often permitted.

A second and more generally used ordeal is the following,
called médzim mé ne ayón, burning water. [561]

The practitioner boils water in a pot. When it comes to a
boil, he throws in a wire ring, and the presumed culprit must
retrieve it without burning himself; if his hand is injured, he is
declared guilty, but if not, he is adjudged innocent and is dis-
missed. In such a case, the plaintiff himself is punished and
must drink the test poison. The accused man has the right to

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692 boil his own totem in the pot, but so has the practitioner, in order to counterbalance the power of the accused man's totem.

The red-hot iron test, éki bíkí or bíkí éki bíkí, is the third ordeal.

The accused man's knife is heated red hot, then pressed to his cheek; if the cheek is burnt, he is guilty; otherwise, he is declared innocent. He has the right to throw into the fire, in which the iron is heated, the ashes of his individual totem; he also has the right to rub with this same totem that part of his body to which the red-hot iron will be applied.

There is no need to dwell on how easy subterfuges would be, all the more so since before each ceremony the presumed culprit is allowed to apply a few strong poultices or substances to harden his skin. The totem would then be only more effective!

If declared innocent, the accused man nevertheless owes a sacrifice to his mvane, a debt that will be readily discharged.

In case of theft there are also three tests used, as follows:

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787 for the otura bíkí, the practitioner lights a large fire in the middle of the village, fed with special kinds of wood. When the fire has caught well, he throws an armful of wet leaves on it; he then moves back, having pronounced above the rising smoke certain magical words. The column of smoke at first rises straight up; suddenly, without wind (often there is not a breath), without any visible physical action on the part of the practitioner or anyone else (because they are all at a distance), it curves inward, we are told, eddies, and then advances towards a hut which it completely envelopes. The hut's owner is immediately seized and declared guilty [562]; however, he can insist on drinking the test poison, provided that he is buying back his life for the first time. One cannot redeem oneself from the test poison.

The smoke test has always seemed to me one of the most difficult to explain. I have witnessed it several times and in spite of the closest attention have not been able to perceive the least trickery.

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191 A second test is the following: the practitioner lies on the ground and appears to listen to mysterious voices which are heard, in fact, as if coming out of the earth. Probably a simple effect of